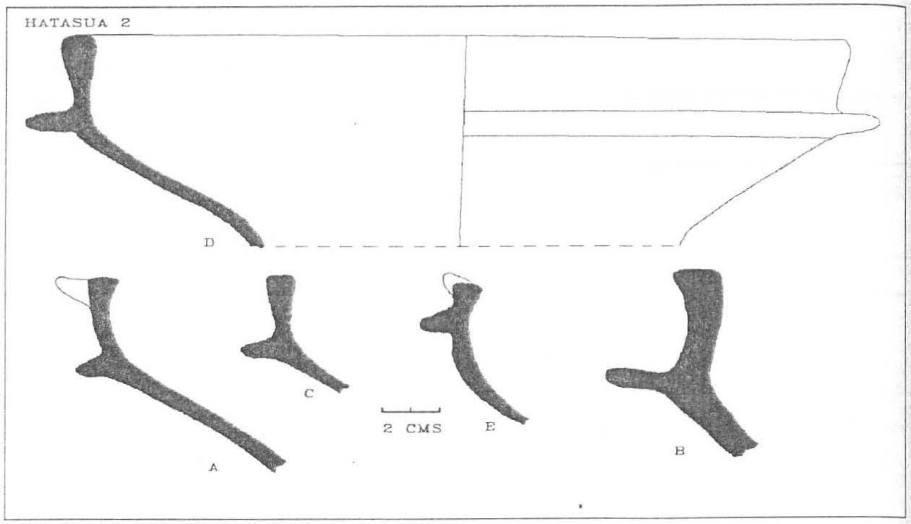
FIGURE 1: Pottery, from the Batu Huran complex, Hatusua 2, showing prominent ridges below the rims.
Note that these vessels may in fact be lids rather than bowls.



1. Coiling as the major technique: Mammala, Morella.
2. Modelling from a solid lump, with coiling as a major technique for building the upper body: Ouw.
3. Modelling from a solid lump, with only minor or no use of coiling for the upper body: Larike, Hutumuri, Oma, Haruku.

All of these villages trace their origins to Seram and, in the case of Hutumuri and Haruku, oral traditions explicitly link these two villages back to a common origin (Bartels 1977:109) on that island. Ellen and Glover (1974:363) used the evidence for movement from Seram and the lack of pottery making there in historic times as part of the case for there being no indigenous tradition of pottery manufacture in Central Maluku. Against this is the Hutumuri-Haruku link suggesting that their shared pottery techniques come from a shared ancestry on Seram, the distinct but possibly ancestral pottery style found so far only at Batu Huran on Seram and not obviously representing pottery imported from Ambon-Lease, and the presence at some sites in Ambon-Lease of pottery quite different in appearance to the usual *negeri lama* assemblages and presumably earlier.

I would conclude that while the current locations of pottery villages in Ambon-Lease and their lack on Seram relate closely to historical events and external influences of the last several hundred years, presumably starting with increased Javanese trade from the twelfth century onwards, it is likely that older pottery

traditions did exist, both in Ambon-Lease and in West Seram, the area of origin according to oral traditions of all current pottery making villages in Central Maluku (see Collins 1983 for the linguistic links between Ambon-Lease and Seram).

EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS

The "ridge rims" found an all *negeri lama* sites with over thirty sherds collected from them and particularly common at the Hutumuri *negeri lama* have parallels outside the region, but only to the north and east. No parallels have been found for this style in Timor or Sulawesi, but it is known from surface collections from Humboldt Bay near Jayapura in West New Guinea (Miller 1950, Solheim 1958) and from the Dudumunir Cave excavation on Arguni Island in the Macluer Gulf of West New Guinea. The sherds there came from 80 to 140 cm depth associated with flake tools and below levels with Chinese porcelain (Ellen and Glover 1974:372, fig. 16e, h). At the Asin caves in Davao del Sur, Mindanao, similar pottery was found in contexts lacking porcelain (Solheim, Legaspi and Neri 1979:fig. 18k, l, r, s; fig. 20h, i, j, k).

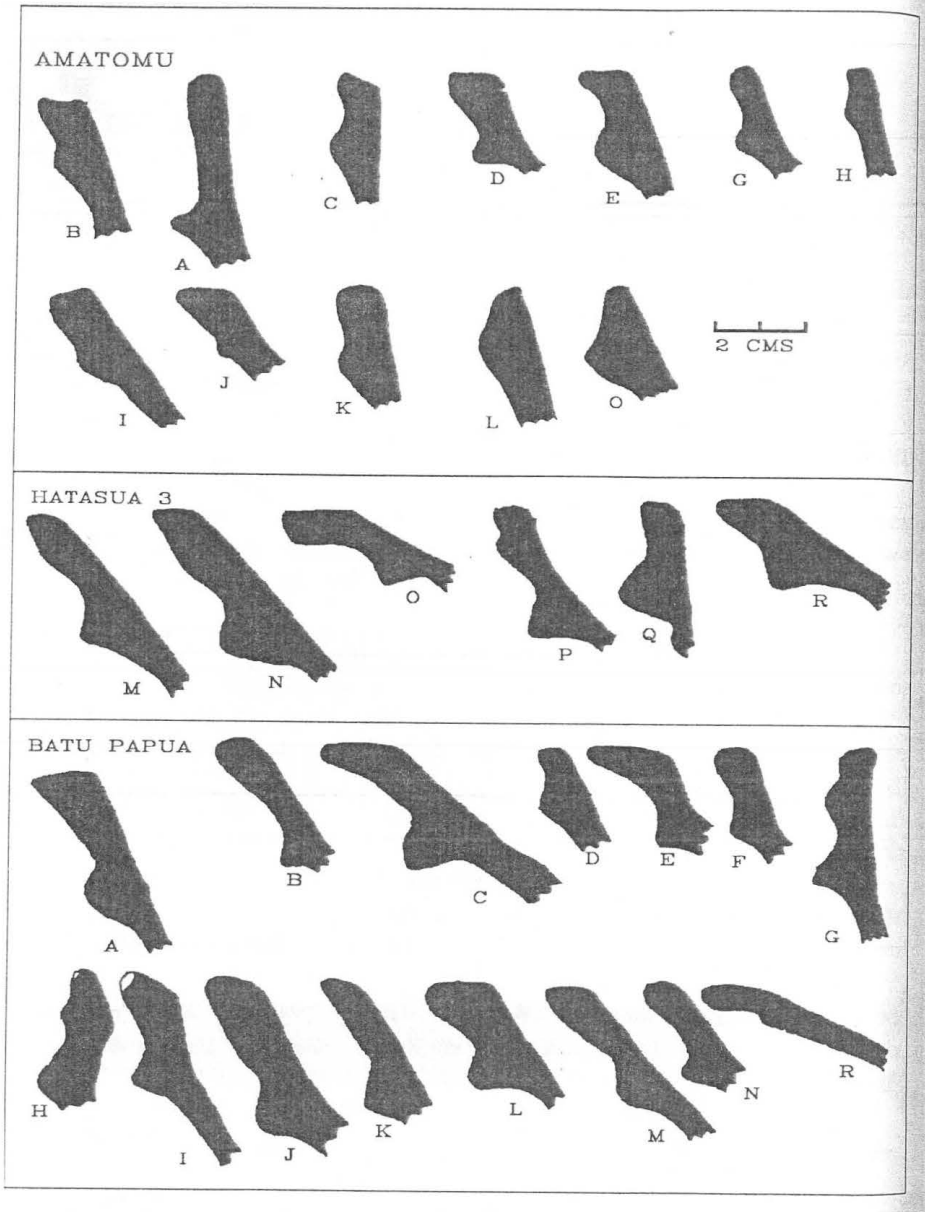
It is suggested that the ridge rims derive from the Batu Huran style of Seram, and parallels for this style were noted from Talaud and the Philippines. These are only general parallels, however, locating the Seram assemblages as akin to the red slip wares common in Island Southeast Asian Neolithic and Early Metal Age assemblages (Bellwood 1985, 1989a:fig. 6).

The incised designs on the *negeri lama* and other surface collected pottery are reminiscent of the Rarangunusa style of Talaud and Sangihe north of Sulawesi which is also found in association with Chinese porcelains and is probably of equivalent age (Bellwood 1981:123–124). Bellwood (1976:281) links it to some of the material found in southern Mindanao. Material from Morotai, north of Halmahera (Schmitt 1947) and Humboldt Bay (Miller 1950:fig. 6) also have similarities to the *negeri lama* decorated pottery.

The Dongson Drum from Kai, and the two found there previously (Spriggs and Miller 1988), provide the clearest evidence for connections between Maluku and areas to the north and west at about the third century A.D. The distribution of similar drums, marking an early trade route from South China–northern Vietnam, through the lesser Sundas to Maluku and West New Guinea, points to an early period of exchange for spices and other products from Maluku noted in Chinese sources of the Han period (Foster 1974:57).

A detailed study of the Kai rock art site near Ohoidertawun (Ballard 1988) has been undertaken as part of a comparative analysis of Melanesian painted rock art sites, including sites on Buru, Seram, and in West New Guinea. The study has revealed an Austronesian rock art style stretching from Kai and Timor west to Manus (Admiralty Islands). This probably came into being about two thousand to twenty-five hundred years ago (Ballard in press; pers. comm.), perhaps a witness of exchange networks from Maluku along the north New Guinea coast at this time.

FIGURE 2: "Ridge-Rim" pottery from sites on Ambon (Amatomu, Batu Papua) and Seram (Hatusua 3).



MALUKU IN THE CONTEXT OF REGIONAL PREHISTORY

External links seen through surface finds of pottery, exotic porcelains and bronze drums, and a widespread rock art style give us hints of the place of Maluku in the general prehistory of this region. In the absence of archaeological excavation and radiocarbon-dated sites, this is the best we can do on the data from Maluku. Archaeological work in adjoining areas can, however, provide hypotheses as to the kind of prehistory we will be able to construct when further research is conducted in Maluku.

Given the recent research on the initial settlement of Sahulland (Australia and New Guinea) and its offshore islands in Western Melanesia, we can expect initial dates for the occupation of Maluku on the order of 40,000 to 60,000 B.P. (Allen 1989; Allen, Gosden, and White 1989). Maluku straddles one of the two main routes postulated for the entry of humans into Melanesia and Australia and must have played a stepping-stone role in this settlement.

A widespread early Holocene flake and blade industry has been identified in Island Southeast Asia, dating to after 8,000 B.P. (Bellwood 1985:193–203) and the surface collections from Seram (Glover and Ellen 1975, 1977) are clearly within this tradition.

In some areas, this industry overlaps with the earliest occurrence of pottery but elsewhere a change in flake tool assemblages occurs with the introduction of pottery and associated aspects of "Neolithic" culture. The dating of the Island Southeast Asian Neolithic has recently been examined in detail (Spriggs 1989), showing its spread from north and west to the east. The earliest Neolithic dates in Sulawesi are about 5,000 B.P., and in Timor 4,100 B.P. To the east, in the Admiralties, there is a pottery-associated date of 3,900 B.P. and a series of dates from the Bismarck Archipelago start at around 3,700 to 3,500 B.P. We can, therefore, expect a date of about 4,500 B.P. for Neolithic (i.e., pottery-using) culture in Maluku which I suggest represents the eastward expansion of Austronesian-speaking maritime communities at this time.

Bellwood (1989a, 1989b) has recently published evidence for long-distance connections between Island Southeast Asia and the Bismarck Archipelago to the east of New Guinea continuing after this initial Neolithic spread. The site of Bukit Tengkorak in Sabah has yielded obsidian sourced to the Talasea area of West New Britain and dated to about 2,800 to 2,500 B.P., along with pieces of a highly decorated pot reminiscent of the Melanesian Lapita style. Such connections imply communication routes via northern Maluku (Halmahera) in the first millennium B.C.

Another piece of evidence linking Island Southeast Asia and Western Melanesia which has implications for Moluccan prehistory is the spread of metal from mainland Asia through the archipelago as far as Manus (Admiralty Islands) at about 2,300 to 2,100 B.P., the "event" that heralds the beginning of the Metal Age in Island Southeast Asia (Spriggs 1989:607). This "event" occurs at the time we first have evidence of Maluku products such as cloves outside of the region and may indeed herald the start of international trade in local spices and other products. The spread of the Dongson bronze drums a few centuries later marks another chapter in

this trade, and the later occurrence of Chinese ceramics and then Portuguese and Dutch forts mark further developments of the spice trade and the integration of Maluku into the larger world system. These developments also witness the end of Moluccan prehistory and its entrance into history, and there the strictly archaeological story ends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE SOUND SYSTEM OF AMBONESE MALAY

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the phonology of Ambonese Malay. After the introductory section I will discuss the following topics: stress (2), vowel phonemes (3), vowel sequences (4), consonant phonemes (5), consonant sequences (6), syllable and root structure (7), and elliptic code (8). Lists of abbreviations and symbols, notes, and references follow the text.

The variety of Malay spoken on Ambon Island in the Central Moluccas is referred to by its speakers as Malayu Ambong. Its use as a mother-tongue or interethnic means of communication is not restricted to Ambon, however. More than in any other part of Indonesia, local culture and history cannot be understood without reference to Portuguese and Dutch presence in the area. When the Portuguese were driven out of Ternate in the North Moluccas and withdrew on Ambon and Tidore, the importance of Ambon as a regional center was first established. In 1605 Steven van der Haghen conquered the fort in the town of Ambon from the Portuguese for the Dutch East India Company. Gradually the center-function was strengthened when the cultivation of cloves—one of the natural products besides nutmeg which pulled the Moluccas from anonymity—shifted from the North Moluccas to the Central Moluccas. When in the long run the Dutch proved successful in obtaining a monopoly on nutmeg and cloves, Dutch interests and the fate of many Moluccans became ever more intertwined. Their relationship was not only expressed in a common religion, namely, the Protestant faith, but also in privileges pertaining to schooling, choice of profession, and wages. Within the colonial system the assistant (religious) teachers, low-ranking administrators, and private soldiers were recruited mainly among the Christian Moluccans. These men, together with those active in various sectors of trade and commerce, are the key figures through whom a new culture gradually spread outside the area on which the Dutch could keep a proper and effective control, that is, the area outside Ambon and the Lease (the islands east of Ambon: Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut). Therefore we may safely assume that it is mainly from these islands that Ambonese Malay spread to neighboring islands such as Buru and Seram and places further away.